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AFRICAN-AMERICAN:

HIS PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.



AN ETHNOLOGICAL LECTURE.

— BY —

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OF WILMINGTON, N. C.

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THE NEGRO OR AFRICAN-AMERICAN.—HIS PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.

In presenting this subject, my friends, it may not be deemed improper for me to state that I do not claim to have originated or discovered any new ideas of ethnology. Nor do I presume in my humble effort toward the investigation of this interesting subject, to advance any question of theory or philosophy with which you are unfamiliar. But by a collation and compilation of incontestable authorities relative to the antiquity of the negro, and conclusions resulting from a liberal deduction applying to the status of the African-American, I hope by thus refreshing your memories and drawing your minds into this peculiar channel of investigation, you may find a subject interesting in its consideration, though presented in a crude and unpolished style.

I propose to-night to occupy your minds for a short while with a subject of the deepest interest to you and all others who are concerned in the history and elevation of the human race. Being myself identified by blood, sympathy and association with the African-American race, to which most of you also belong, it is my desire to inspire you with a higher self-appreciation, and to stimulate in you an honorable pride, without which there can be no progress, no education and no elevation of our race, either as individuals or as a people. We are taught by history and by observation, that mankind are divided into several races, as diverse and distinct as the regions they inhabit, and their actual condition and circumstances in life, and it is by the finest tints and most insensi-

ble gradation that nature descends from the fairest face to the darkest complexion. From one parentage, however, so the Bible teaches, descends the whole human family. My object is to vindicate the biblical theory and to prove by historical facts and scientific authority, that the differences which exist between men, so far as the complexion of their skins, the texture of their hair, the form or moulding of their features, the shape of their skull and their varied characteristics as well as their physical and intellectual developments are concerned, are dependent *not on any inherent diversity*, but on climate and on climate alone. Where there is a difference of climate there must be, also I will show, a corresponding difference of manners and customs. These physical and mental differences of the human species are arranged by an all wise and beneficent Father for the comfort and happiness of all his creatures. Goodrich, in his universal History, (Vol. 1, Page 49,) speaking of the different races, says: "The style of living, the food and climate are well known to produce complete transformation in the whole physical and mental aspect of families and tribes. "We come then," he says, "to the conclusion that nature herself, has made provision for the varieties of the human race, thus adapting them to every zone and every clime, and displaying in the author of nature that wisdom which sees the end from the beginning."

The late Mr. Haywood Guion, of North Carolina, in his famous work called "The Comet," published in 1869, (The Comet, pages 464-9), to illustrate that even the lower order of the animal kingdom are effected by the influence of climate says: "When the English transported fine-wooled sheep to Sierra Leone, their colony in torrid Africa, they discovered that the sheep readily exchanged their wool for coats of hair and so it is in the Bahamas where the people say it is useless for them to import sheep as they very soon turn to goats. It is also a curious fact illustrative of the effect of climatic conditions, that all European dogs when

transported to Asia, in each successive generation become more and more similar to the Pariah or indigenous dog of the east. That hares and rabbits abound everywhere, even drinking the ice water in Greenland and Siberia. In those cold regions, however, they are white, while in the lower latitudes they are dark. The little humming bird, with its long double tube like a double-barrelled gun, claims the whole of America as his own. In all the different latitudes and altitudes, from Hudson's Bay to Patagonia, from the lowest valley to the highest mountain top, he is found plucking insects from each gay flower, while he minglest pollen with pollen to diversify the fields that furnish him his food. In the outskirts we find him clothed in staid colors and as small as a beetle yet he gradually increases in size and in brilliancy of feather as he approaches the Equator where he claims supremacy over the ornate crowd that throngs the Torrid Zone.

“Dr. Franklin,” it is said (Comet, page 463), “procured in London a chest of drawers of the very driest material and most perfect workmanship and transported it to Philadelphia, but here it soon shrunk, proved worthless and fell to pieces, on account of the difference in the climate between the two cities. Now, if inanimate matter thus yields to atmospheric change, how much more must living things, composed of atmospheric atoms, exhibit its impression?”

Dr. John William Draper, the distinguished Professor of Chemistry and Physiology in the University of New York, in his work called “Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America,” (pages 143-4) says, speaking of the influence of climate: “He who accepts the doctrine of the unity of the human race must, in view of the numerous modified forms of men now dispersed all over the surface of the earth, assign an almost paramount control to climate and modes of life, but the conclusion to which he is impelled, if broadly stated, would doubtless be very reluctantly received. Its apparent extravagance may, however, serve to give emphasis to the physiologi-

cal principle involved, for on those principles it would follow that if the life of a man could be prolonged through many centuries, and he were to occupy it in making a journey over the earth, from the Arctic to the Ant-arctic Circle, though he might have been perfectly white at first, his complexion would in succession pass through every degree of darkness, and by the time he had reached the Equator, toward the middle of his life, he would be perfectly black; continuing his journey, his color would lighten as he proceeded, and on his reaching the Ant-arctic he would become pale again; all these changes occurring without any loss of his personal identity. Moreover, in this his progress, supposing that his mode of life, as regards food and comfort, was such as natural conditions suggest, even his skull would vary, and with it his intellectual powers; his forehead reclining at the outset, would undergo rectification as he slowly advanced to more genial climes, the facial angle enlarging and reaching a maximum at the time of his residence in the Temperate Zone, but diminishing again, and his countenance becoming baser as he approached the Equator, the receding aspect being then for the *second* time assumed. Still passing onward toward the South, the facial angle would again enlarge, the skull *re-rectifying*, the intellectual powers expanding, and this condition attaining its perfection in the midst of the South Temperate Zone, a relapse ensuing as the Ant-arctic Circle was gained, and then for the *third* time the reclining skull would be assumed. Nor is this all; for it in this career children should be born to him they would be of *every shade of color, and of every form of skull known to mankind*, for such existing physical peculiarities are capable of hereditary transmission." "I have said," he continues, "that this illustration may be supposed extravagant, philosophically, however, on the doctrine referred to. It is not so, for what else than such an imaginary prolonged individual life is the life of a race? And what more has thus occurred to the imaginary traveler than has *actually* happened to the human family." Here we find the very highest au-

thority bearing on to the irresistible conclusion that climate is the cause of the complexional and physical differences which we find existing in the great human family. We frequently hear men of the white race boast of their proud "Caucasian" blood, in contradistinction to the negro, as if that which flows in their veins were capable of being distinguished in any way from that of the negro. It will be startling, I imagine, to announce to these *reined* aristocrats that there is uncontested evidence that the negro has the pre-eminent claim to descent from the original Caucasian race. We shall clearly establish that the negro was the original and primitive Caucasian, and the progenitor and parent of those very races which so boastfully pride themselves as *only* and *exclusively* representing the ancient Caucasian race. Let us see what history says on this subject :

Dr. Anthon, (Classical Dictionary *Egyptus*), tells us "that the ancient Egyptians were of dark skin and had woolly or crispy hair." Now, this would seem to answer very conclusively the description of the negro. But let us see what Herodotus, who is regarded as the father of history says concerning the Caucasian race. Speaking of the Argonautic expedition which sailed from Greece under command of Jason, accompanied by Hercules and some fifty-three others to Colches, a province situated between the Caspian and Black Seas, south of the Caucasian mountains. This expedition sailed to Colches in search of the mythological Golden Fleece. Herodotus tells us that the complexion of the original Caucasians was black and they had woolly hair. (Mr. Legge's translation, vol. 2, S. Q. Review, 1842, page 16, note). It was among these very Caucasians of Colches that Jason sought the recovery of the Golden Fleece. It is reasonable to conclude that this Golden Fleece existed only, and was therefore to be found only among the most enlightened, educated and highly civilized nations of the earth. In fact the historian informs us that Greece, at that period, sent her students to Africa for their classical education. Hence we

find light in the dim grey dawn of civilization coming out from Africa. In truth, the more we learn of the antiquity and ancient history of the negro, the more interesting becomes the study of that race, especially when we consider such distinguished representatives of the negro race as Simon of Cyrene, who assisted the blessed Saviour in bearing his cross up the rugged steeps of Calvary; of Orogen, one of the ancient Fathers of the Church. Hannibal, who when but twenty-four years of age assumed command of the Carthaginian army and became the greatest and most distinguished general of his age, and indeed, came near destroying the Roman Empire. Wooo, the famous black king of Bambara, whose wealth, virtue and intelligence challenged the admiration of the world. Toussaint L'Overture, once a slave on the Island of St. Domingo, whose energy, skill, force of character and iron constitution placed him at the head of the revolution inaugurated by the slaves of that island to throw off the yoke of slavery, was made Commander-in-Chief and Governor of the Island, succeeded in throwing off the shackles of slavery from his race, though opposed by the powers and armies of France, Spain and England, and after he succeeded in establishing peace, order and a constitutional government among his people, by the deception, hypocrisy and treachery of Napoleon Bonaparte, who had recently become ruler of France and who was desirous of reestablishing slavery on the island, fearing L'Overture's power and influence against this wicked design, he was brutally incarcerated in the bleak, lonely and dismal dungeon in the castle of Joux, near the borders of Switzerland where, isolated from the world, subjected to an organized system of torture, exposure, cruelty and starvation, after enduring this misery for eight months he died in April, 1803, a martyr to the cause of liberty, freedom and human rights. Freidig, of Vienna, was the most celebrated architect of the world. Lislet, of the Isle of France, who in consequence of his superior skill in the mathematical sciences of the world, became a distinguished

member of the French Academy. Arno, the great philosopher, was a distinguished professor in the University of Wittenberg. Ignatius, Sancho and Vasa, whose talents and genious have contributed so largely to the refined literature of Europe. And in our day, Dumas, the famous French novelist, Douglas, Langston, Elliott and others who have distinguished themselves in the political history of this country.

Before proceeding further, let us consider the present status of the negro and speak of the great change which has recently taken place under our immediate observation, which I imagine is of very great importance in the consideration of our subject. I allude to the institution of slavery, that great monster of inequality which blighted the progress and power of the nation, paralyzed its industrial interests, strangled its enterprising and progressive spirit and arrested the advance of civilization. Like some dark, dismal shade from the lower regions, slavery cursed this country from its earliest settlement. Indeed, the slave power once had such controlling influence that it was not content with being the acknowledged king of the political arena, but it invaded the sacred precincts of the Church, and demanded that the humble followers of a crucified Saviour should also bow their heads in meek submission to its unholy mandates. At last its influence was so great as to rend the two most popular branches of the Christian Church in this country asunder, dividing to the North and South (Gov. Brownlow and A. Pryne's debate).

In nothing was this mischief more apparent than in the financial management of the Southern branch. Five years before the late civil war there was about four hundred and seventy thousand slaves members of the churches in the Southern States—the “free negro” element at that time probably increased the number to half a million. Now, you must remember that the white and colored members, *master* and *slave*, as a general rule worshiped at and in the same church and *communed* at the same altar. I venture the asser-

tion, however, that the slave members of these churches paid more than half the actual expenses of the churches. As an illustration, we will mention the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Mobile, which was erected at a cost of seven thousand dollars; of this amount six thousand dollars was raised by the slave members, who numbered seven hundred, while one thousand dollars only was raised by the whites, who numbered eight hundred members, the slave members actually paying more than six-sevenths of the church expenses. Thank God that imposition, though under the garb of Christianity, has passed away forever. Our chains are now broken, we and our children are free to worship God under our own vine and fig tree, with no one to molest or make us afraid. With ministers called from among our own people, who are dedicated to the holy cause of the elevation of the human race and saving the souls of the people, having come out with us from the dark prison house of bondage, are naturally identified and in full sympathy with every interest which tends to advance our people in the scale of civilization—the improvement of their condition, spiritual, moral, social and intellectual. And if our people are to be elevated and respected, we must throw aside those habits of superstition, ignorance and vices which are the outgrowth of slavery, and adopt the manners and customs of freemen, citizens and christians, and entertain a more exalted reverence and higher appreciation for our ministers of the gospel, who have such an important part to perform in this great work—the elevation of our people.

Now, it is a fact sustained by history, that at one time or another slavery existed in every country of the globe. It is also a fact, equally sustained, that while God has manifested His displeasure at the existence of slavery, at the same time He has used it as a means of human progress. Babylon and Egypt were both built up by slaves, and when God, with the outstretched arm of His vengeance, thundered on Babylon and Egypt, in their iniquities, we are told by the Prophet that the cause was they dealt in slaves

and the souls of men. It is a remarkable historical fact, and singular coincident, that the period between 1441, when the first African slaves were exposed for sale in Portugal, to the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which gave the final blow to African slavery both in Europe and America, corresponds precisely with the bondage of God's own chosen people in Egypt, being four hundred and thirty years of bondage. Egypt to-day lies buried under the ruins of the same greatness which she built by oppression and slavery, and the retributive wave of ages of vengeance has nearly buried her gigantic works of art built by the hands of her slaves. The Divine power, the goodness and the glory of God was never more signally displayed than in the miraculous deliverance of the children of Israel. It was God himself who caused the angry billows of the raging sea to recede and roll back in mighty walls on either side of the passage, while the children of Israel came out from their prison house of bondage and walked dry-shod on their way toward the "land of promise." The arrested waters of the Red Sea loomed up above their heads, in liquid folds like huge mountains on either side, held back by the hand of Him who rides upon the "stormy skies and calms the raging sea." And then did God also manifest his wrath when he caused those mighty liquid walls to give way, to close in and to drink up in their angry embrace Egypt's king and his hosts, where horse, chariot and rider all sunk in the wave.

The African-American has ever been noted as being a God fearing race. For our deliverance from bondage I give no man, or set of men, credit, only so far as their being agents in the hands of God, to carry out his most holy plans. He breathed into their hearts the nobler and higher impulses of nature, and when the time was ripe it was He that called us out from the prison house of bondage, and not mere mortal man. At the sound of His voice the heavy chains fell clanking to the earth, in shattered and broken fragments. Then it was the

spirit of slavery fled from this new found home of ours. It has forever taken its flight. Down to the gloomy caverns of oblivion, it seeks its proper abode, and there abides in dark chaotic night, while we and our children are free, and so long as our trust is in God we will never be confounded. The children of Israel and the African-American are not the only races which have worn the galling chains of slavery. Slavery, in one form or another, has existed more or less in every country and with every race the world over, either involuntary servitude reduced to a science or abject slavery in its most revolting form. The venerable and enduring Pyramids of Egypt were all erected by the hands of negro slaves. The ten tribes of Israel were carried off slaves to Asyria by Shalmanazar, as the two strong tribes of Judah were subsequently by Nebuchadnezzar and ended their days in Babylonian slavery. Ancient Phoenicia and Carthage were literally overrun with slaves. The Greeks and Trojans, at the siege of Troy were accompanied by an equal number of slaves to themselves. So in Athens, Sparta, Thebes and indeed, the whole of the Greeian and Roman world, the slaves largely outnumbered the freemen. In the ages which succeeded the extinction of the Roman Empire in the west, slaves were always more numerous than freemen. Even in brighter days, when the light of christian civilization began its noble work of revolution, serfs and slaves were distributed throughout the whole of Eastern Europe and Western Asia. In the ruins of ancient Jerusalem, now a heap of shattered houses and mouldering bones, whose streets are vast cemeteries and whose palaces are whitened sepulchres, where whole generations of Jews are buried, you may see the bleaching bones of the Abyssinian, the Negro, the Egyptian, the Chaldean, the Persian, the Greek, the Syrian, the Roman, the Crusader and the Turk. Here they all meet upon the same level, and here at last, in death if not in life, acknowledge the Lord to be maker and Lord of all.

Now as to the probable future of the negro or African-

American, we must compare his condition with that of other races of people who have been similarly held in bondage; ignorance, darkness, superstition and degradation as well as mark the character, spirit and disposition of our people to grapple manfully with all the facilities offered for the education, progress and elevation of other branches of the human race.

The first question which presents itself is whether the negro is capable of self-government, and susceptible of attaining to as high order of intelligence and intellectual development as men of the pale race. The statue of Mennon in Africa, it is said, emitted a vocal sound when touched by the rays of the sun. But in the light of modern science every obelisk and monument and hieroglyph as well as the historic pen finds a voice. By its means we shall be at no loss to sustain the affirmative of this great question as well as to establish the identity of the negro with civilization's earliest dawn.

Mr. Darwin in his first volume (*Descent of Man*, page 191), contrary to the generally received opinion, suggests that in fact "the human race itself was earliest developed in the tropical regions, and had its *birth-place* in the interior of Africa, strange and startling as it may appear." Mr. Darwin is not the only scientific authority for this conclusion; so far from being unsupported or singular, I have discovered that in expressing it that he has been merely repeating language borrowed by him from much older authority. The late Gov. Graham, of North Carolina, in a speech delivered in the Whig Convention of 1868, challenged the world to show where there had ever existed a State or country governed by negroes. Let us see if we can't produce such fact, aye, and well authenticated. The Grecian historian, Strabo, enumerates *three hundred cities*, on the western coast of Africa, as having existed and flourished in his day, near the location of the present English and American settlements. Dr. Mason Good, in his lecture before the Surry Institute of England, in the year 1812 (*Book of Nature*, page 209), speaking of the negro,

remarks: "But let the man who would argue from this single fact that the race of negroes must be necessarily an inferior species, distinct from all the rest of the world, compare the taste, the talents, the genius, the erudition that have at different periods blazed forth with meteoric brilliancy, only to be darkened by prejudicial surroundings in different individuals of this despised people, when placed under the fostering providence of kindness and cultivation with his own, or those of the generality of his own countrymen, and let him blush for the mistake he has made and the injury he has committed. Freidig, of Vienna, was one of the most celebrated architects of the world; Prof. Hannibal was not only Colonel of Artillery in the Russian service, but was deeply skilled in the mathematical sciences of the world; so, too, was Lislet, of the Isle of France, who was in consequence made a member of the French Academy; and Arno, who was honored with a diploma of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of Wittenberg in 1734. Let us add to these the names of Vasa and Ignatius Sancho, whose taste and genius have enriched the polite literature of England." "Nor is it," he continues, "to a few casual individuals among the black tribes, appearing in distant countries and at distant eras, that we have to look for the clearest proofs of human intelligence; at this moment, scattered like their own oases, there are islands of beautiful verdure over the eastern and western deserts of Africa multitudes of little principalities of negroes still existing, whose national virtue would do honor to the most polished states of Europe, while at Timbuctoo, stretching deepest towards the east of these principalities from the western coast, we meet one of the wealthiest, perhaps one of the most populous and best governed cities in the world. Its sovereign is a negro, its armies are negroes, its people negroes; a city which is the general mart of the commerce of Western Africa, and whose trade and manufactures seem to be equally esteemed and protected."

"We know not," he continues (remember I am still quot-

ing from Dr. Good), "the antiquity of this kingdom, but there can be no doubt of its having a just claim to a very high origin. And it is possible that at the very period in which our own ancestors, as described by Julius Cæsar, were naked and smeared over with paint, or merely clothed with the skins of wild beasts, living in huts and worshiping the mistletoe, the black kingdom of Bambara, of which Timbuctoo is the capital, was as completely established and flourishing as at the present moment."

Mr. Jackson (*Ibid*, page 210), in his account of the Empire of Morocco, gives a description of the kingdom of Bambara, in which he says: "The city is situated on a plain, surrounded by a sandy eminence, about twelve miles north of the Nile Elebeade, or Nile of the Blacks, and three days journey from the confines of Sahara, about twelve miles in circumference, but without walls. The town of Kabra, situated on the banks of the river, is its commercial depot, or port; the king is the sovereign of Bambara; the name of this potentate in 1800 was Woolo; he is black, and a native of the country he governs; his usual place of residence is Jinnie, though he has three palaces in Timbuctoo, which are said to contain an immense quantity of gold. The present military appointments are, it seems, entirely from the negroes of Bambara. The inhabitants are also of most part negroes, who possess much of the Arab hospitality, and pride themselves in being attentive to strangers. By means of a water carriage east and west of Kabra, great facility is given to the trade of Timbuctoo, which is very extensive as well in European as in Barbary manufactures. The various costumes exhibited in the market places and on the streets sufficiently indicate this, each individual being habited in the dress of his respective country. There is a perfect toleration in matters of religion, except as to the Jews. The police are extolled as surpassing anything on this side of the desert, robberies and house-breaking are scarcely known. The government of the city is entrusted to a Divan of twelve Slemma or Magistrates, and the civil jurisprudence superin-

tended by a learned Cadi." (It is possible that Gov. Graham, whose knowledge of Africa appears quite limited, never heard of this kingdom of Bambara, but he must have read and known of the great river Niger, in Africa, although it is not spelled with two g's.) But long before Darwin, or Jackson or Mason, Good wrote, however, they were preceeded in this branch of science by an American.

I learn from an address delivered in the city of Wilmington, on the 27th of December, 1871, by Dr. Noble Young, of Washington City, "that Dr. John Mitchell, who lived in Urbana, Virginia, on the Rappahannock, over a hundred years ago, wrote a curious treatise on the cause of the color of the human species, which he ascribes to climate and modes of life, stating that in his opinion the whites have degenerated from the original complexion of Noah's family more than the Indian and negro. This work, he says, gave the first hint to Stanhope Smith, President of Princeton College, upon which he published his famous and curious work on the influence of climate upon the human species."

Let us now consider, in conclusion, the future of the negro or the African-American. We instinctively turn our attention to Africa, as being immediately connected with the solution of this great and important problem. Sierra Leon, a negro State, situated on the western coast, now contains a civilized negro population of more than fifty thousand inhabitants, and is steadily advancing in wealth, power, population and prosperity.

The colony of Liberia, which was established between fifty and sixty years ago, and which for the first seven or eight years did not exceed one thousand population, has continued to grow in wealth, prosperity and importance until Monrovia, the capital of the State, alone has a population of more than ten thousand inhabitants. Dr. Francis Lieber, in his work on civil liberty, published in 1874, speaking (page 330) of Liberia, says: "A government has been instituted by the Liberians which enjoys internal peace, and seems to grow in

strength and character every day, at the same time that hundreds of attempts by white men in Europe have safely miscarried." Alluding I suppose to the Spanish, French and English Republics. (Dr. Lieber was in his day a leading Democrat but never had the advantage of training for that party in the school of Old Line Whiggery, in which Gov. Graham was so distinguished a professor). Jas. Buchanan, in his great speech in June, 1844, on the annexation of Texas, predicted that the acquisition of Texas and the other countries to the South would be the means of gradually drawing the negroes to climates in that direction, more congenial to their natures where they would find a race of inferior political capacity and education, composed of Spaniards, Mexicans and Africans, to the bulk whom in all appliances of civilization, habits of industry, mechanical skill, greater energy and religious cultivation, their superiority would not be denied by the most bigoted. Mr. Buchanan's idea was that the acquisition of Texas would be the true solution of the negro question in this country. My impression is, that the true solution of the American negroe's future will be found in the acquisition by the United States of the whole Southern countries and continent, which is inevitable. Our government is naturally of a *land grabbing* and aggressive disposition, besides the impulses of the human souls are grasping after a larger freedom. The spirit of the age is pushing out toward an enlargement of the area of mind, and the very breezes around us are instinct with the influences of intellectual and moral progress; the Liberians have recently caught up the impulse of aggression and conquest and have lately been engaged in a successful war with some of the native tribes of the interior. Now, I repeat, the acquisition of all the southern countries of this continent by the United States is inevitable. The flood of emigration which is pouring into this country follows the star of empire. It has continued its westward course until it has nearly reached the terminus. Soon it will be stopped by the Pacific, when it

must shape its course for the tropics ; nothing will stop it in its southward flight but the equator.

Here in this tropical climate, congenial to his nature, the educated African-American must become the principal agent of providence in extending the spirit of christianity and civilization. Hence in sealing the destiny of the African-American with this country you make him also the means under providence and the instrument by which the acquisition of the tropical countries are accomplished, and this must be the true solution. For either the negro must become in fact a component part of this nation and grow with her growth and prosper with her prosperity, or like the red man of the forest he must finally die out under the force of civilization. Unlike the Indian race, however, which has continually been diminishing and is rapidly disappearing, the African-American retains his numerical strength, and grows in wealth and intelligence in the atmosphere of civilization. He wears no blanket, utters no grunt and employs no interpreters. So far as I can discover, the principal source of anxiety on the part of some of our fellow citizens, is that he sends his children to school and adds to the representative population of the country. And in Congress and on all proper occasions he aspires to the rank, employs the language and adopts the manners of a gentleman. There is a bright future before us. But there is also a great duty for us to perform in the reformation of the customs and habits of our people.

Since the emancipation of our race from physical bondage, a great number have voluntarily surrendered themselves soul and body, to a system of slavery far more dangerous in its consequences than abject physical slavery in its most revolting form, for it is calculated in its tendency to blight the hopes and prospects of our rising race, and sink them in degradation, sin and shame, unless arrested by the strong and powerful arm of public sentiment. I allude to the slavery of intemperance, the greatest obstacle in the way of our progress, education and elevation this side the gates of perdition. We

should and must arrest this gigantic monster, which like an undying worm is sapping the life blood and gnawing the vitals of the very existence of our race. Let us cut it off as it were, a link from the chain of time thrown beneath the stars down through chaotic night to the gloomy caverns of oblivion, that our people unobstructed in their progress may fulfill their mission "And hasten on the time foretold by the prophets when Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands to her God. When a nation shall be born in a day. And when the out-stretched arms of Africa shall embrace all her children."

Metaphorically speaking, the negro is cast in the midst of a vast wilderness, beset on every side with dangers thick, reaching out as it were, grasping at the wheel spokes of destiny. Let us heed the voice of reason as it calls us to the paths of truth and duty—

"As one who walking in the twilight gloom,
Hears round about him voices as it darkens,
And seeing not the forms from which they come,
Pauses, from time to time and turns and hearkens."

What voice is this we hear speaking to us in this twilight gloom, in a tone which reverberates through every artery of our whole being? It is the voice of America predicting the future grandeur and unlimited extension of the American Republic, no longer pent up like Utica though two oceans be her bounds. The tide of emigration arrested by the Pacific Ocean, must some where find an outlet.

This vast population doubles its number every twenty-two years; it is now forty millions, and in less than a quarter of a century it will be a hundred millions. Its gradual and continued progress towards the occupation of this entire continent has, in my opinion, all the solemnity of a providential dispensation; it is "like a deluge of men rising unabatantly," and driven onward by the hand of God. When it reaches that vast Pacific sea, where the feet of the advancing column is already planted, and is compelled to halt, it will turn to the South, and it will not stop until it reaches and tests one more

beneath the sunny skies and the hot breath of the equator, whence it took its rise. My opinion is that when that time comes, and I am sure it is not very far distant, the African-American, purified and ennobled by his sufferings, strong in the faith in which he has been educated, hardened by the same toils first imposed on his great progenitor, by Christ himself, when with Him he climbed under the weight of the cross the rugged steeps of Calvary, and carrying to the tropics the same civilization he once of old bestowed, he will become the pioneer of a common empire when thus southward both races take their predestined way.

“Standing then on what so long we bore,
With shoulders bent and downcast eyes,
We shall discern, unseen before,
A path to higher destinies;
Nor deem the irrevocable past
As wholly wasted, wholly vain,
If, rising from the wreck, at last
To something nobler we attain.”



